621 by this missionary. There was at the time only one couple with
[163] three children, while other couples with progeny only had one or two. When Mr. Kegel was in Tampiitáua in 1934, after the departure of the oft-mentioned "20" who had not yet returned in
[161] 1935, he only saw seven houses with 113 occupants. It is to be assumed that a few additional families were absent during the missionary's visit that year, for in 1935 I counted 130 Tapirapé. They were living in the seven houses seen by Mr. Kegel the
●[342] previous year, and also in the so-called takana [men's house] and in another hut (marked with the letter g on the ground plan of the village) which was not as finished as the others. The distribution of those 130 individuals among the houses is indicated on the ground plan of the village (Fig. 8).

V62 621 The following table shows the ratios by age, sex, marital status, and progeny. [Table appears here.]

[103:187] It is apparent, therefore, that at the time of this census, made in 1935, there were 70 married individuals and 60 unmarried ones in Tampiitáua.

The 38 men between the ages of 18 and 45 included the fathers of 20 children. The 26 women between the ages of 21 and 60 included the mothers of 32 children. These 64 men and women, therefore, included the fathers and mothers of 52 children.

[397] These 52 children do not include those who were cited as stepchildren or adopted offspring. It is possible, furthermore, that they may include step- or adopted children who were not cited as such. In this case, the number of children with a living father or mother, which is already relatively small, would be even smaller.

Among the couples who had issue from their current marriages, there was one with three children, two with two, and five with one child each.

There was a 45-year-old grandfather with a three-year-old granddaughter, and a grandmother of 60 with a granddaughter who was also three. A man of 33 said that he was the grandfather of a girl of five who had neither father nor mother. He may have been the brother of the girl's grandfather.

No less striking than the above figures are the following.

In the age group ranging from less than one year to 14, there were 26 males and 29 females, that is to say, 55 individuals of both sexes.

[Text continues on p. 40]

249 476 that the Indians suck. It was, incidentally, the only cultivated plot within the clearing where Tampiitaua stood.

361 342 345 The center of Tampiitaua was the takana, the large men's house. Eight communal huts were grouped around it, with their entrances set in such a way that it was impossible to look from the inside of one hut into that of another (cf. Fig. 8, in which the chief entrances are represented with black rectangles and the secondary ones with blank rectangles). The village plaza stretched between the front of the takana and the semicircle formed by the houses on the east side of the settlement, and it was the setting for dances, singing, games, races, speeches, and banquets.

361 166 The "village of the tapirs," however, had not always stood in the clearing where I found it, nor did it remain there after my departure (cf. Ch. 5). At certain times, the Tapirapé move far away. At regular intervals varying from two to five years, however, they move the village to a spot only one or a few leagues away. When they abandoned the village located on the banks of the lower Tapirapé, the distance they covered was considerable, [621] [578] that is to say, probably a few dozen kilometers. Long distances were also covered at various times when villages split up or joined together, as a result, in the former case, of internal dissensions, and in the latter case of dwindling population [Fig. 8 appears here] [110:193] or lack of shamans. The chief causes for the smaller, 136 166 361 habitual moves are the plagues of cockroaches and the number of graves within the huts. The unchecked proliferation of Blattella germanica L. compels the Indians to abandon and burn down all their houses every few years. The recurrence of this event is ensured by the carelessness of the Indians, for after the village has been destroyed the household goods carried to the new site are never sufficiently free from cockroaches to prevent them from [764] [731] soon swarming all over the dwellings. When epidemics cause the floors of the huts to fill rapidly with graves, this manner of burial may entail the erection of a new village within an even shorter period of time.

361 Not only does the settlement change as to site, however, but it also changes in size. I have already mentioned in Chapter 5 the data furnished by Reverend Kegel, according to which [342] Tampiitaua consisted of about 14 houses in August, 1932. The

[Text continues on p. 78]

1:Baldus--76 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

[facing p. 193]

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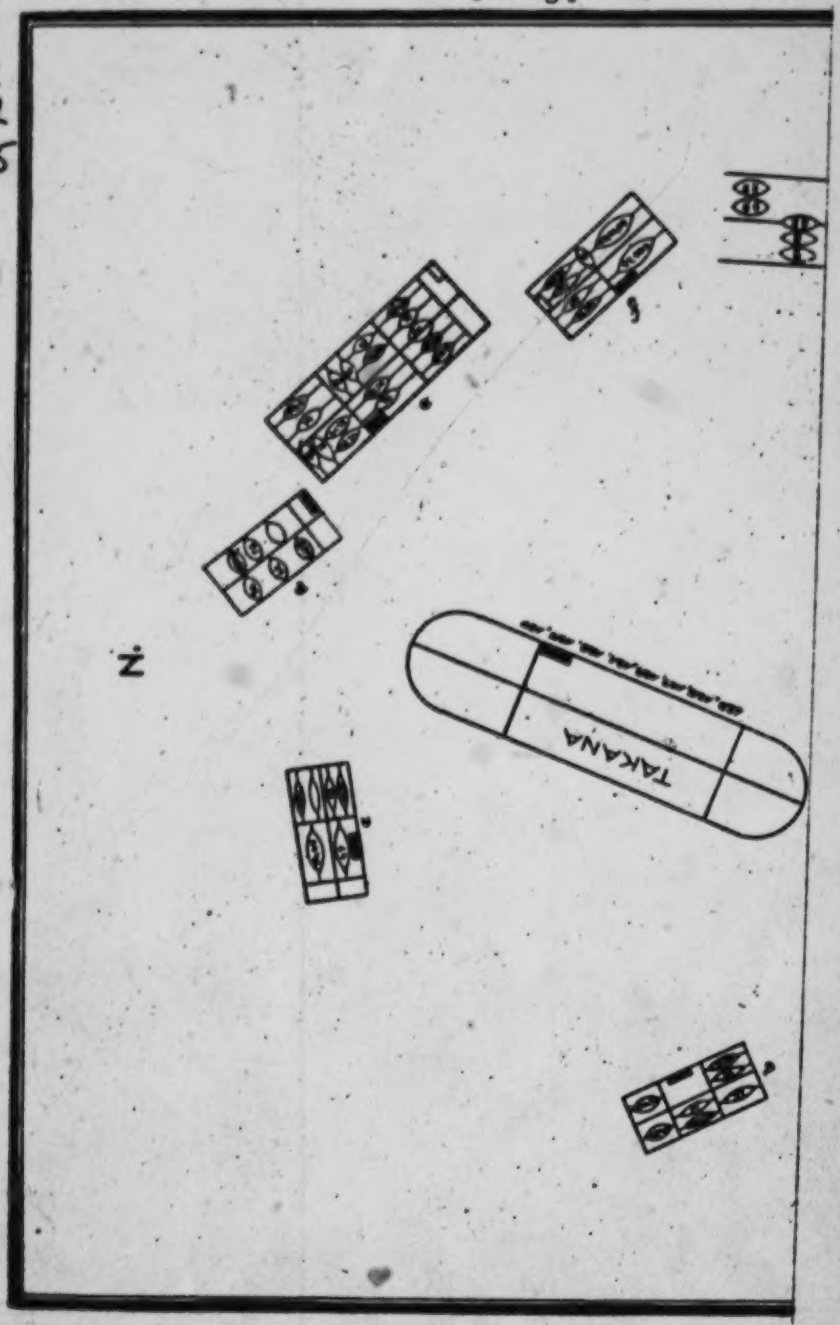

[FIG. 8- TOP HALF]

1:Baldus--77 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

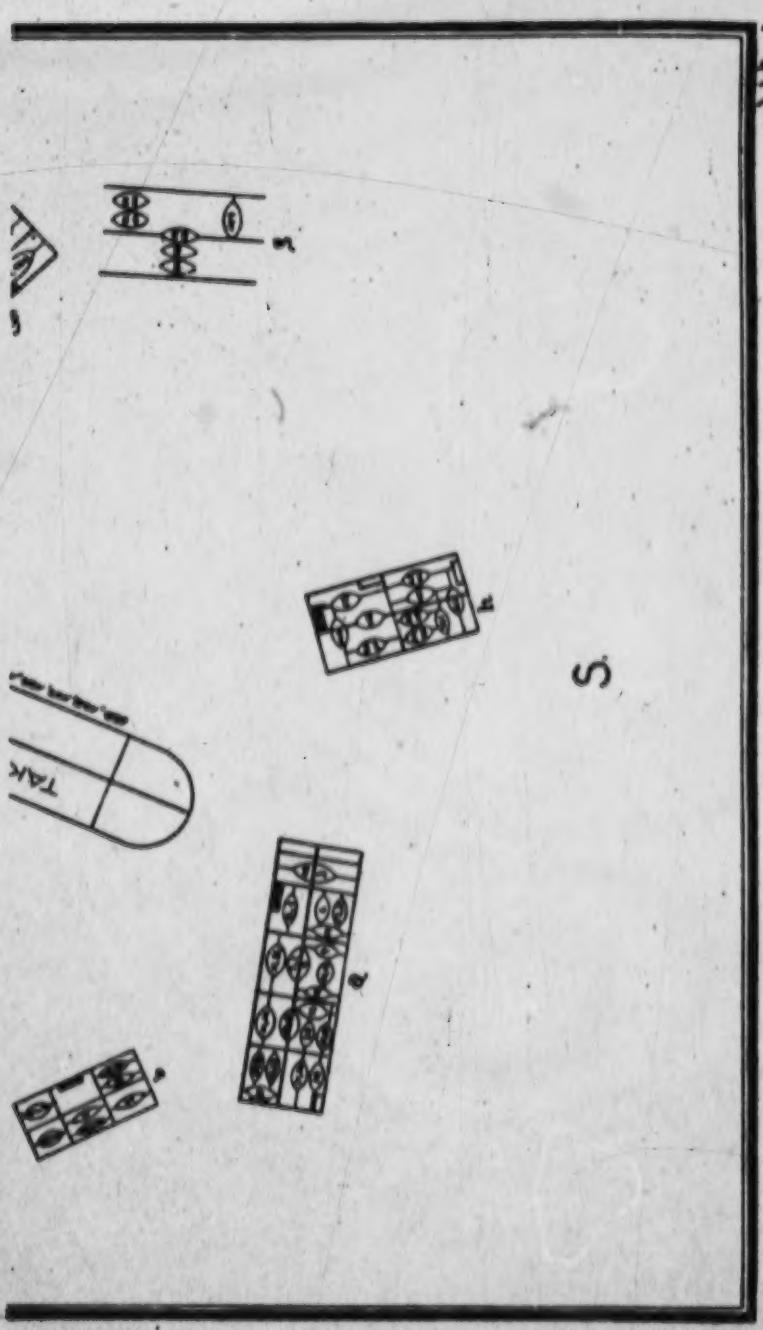

Fig. 8. Ground plan of the village.

361
592
342
345

[FIG. 8 - BETTER HALF]

361 size of the houses also varies, of course, with the number of their
•[342] occupants. The ground plan of the village (Fig. 8) shows this numerical distribution, listed in Chapter 5, as it stood at the time of my visit.

342 Since I did not witness the construction of houses (avuyra-ham, "to build a house"), the following description of the procedure is based on what my companion, Mr. Kegel, observed on a previous
[313] visit. In August, during the day, the men cut down tree trunks of varying thickness in the forest, as well as leaves of the so-called "wild banana" (Heliconia spec.) and of the palm called macaba by the frontiersmen of the Araguaia. These provide the beams, poles, and thatch for the houses. The Indians carry these mate-
[482] rials to the site of the future village in the late afternoon, thus avoiding the daytime heat which would cause the "banana" leaves to curl in transit and the bearers to tire unduly.

The construction work begins around four or five in the afternoon. First, the framework of beams is erected. The vertical shafts are laid out in three parallel rows, both outer rows being of the same height and the middle one being higher. Thus, in house a (Fig. 10), the outer shafts are about 1.60 meters high while the inner ones are about 3.80 meters high, and this represents a general average for all the houses except the takana. In house a, the outer rows stand about 2.75 meters from the inner one, and the intervals between the shafts in each row (marked with circles in Fig. 9) are one meter, 3.40 meters, 3.90 meters, 3.25 meters, 3.50 meters, and 1.30 meters, respectively. Since these intervals are the same in all three lines, seven other rows of shafts result, which stand perpendicular to the others and divide the house into rectangular quadrilaterals. This division, which is
[592] socially important because it reflects the distribution of the occupants [110:194] into couples and nuclear families, is emphasized further by crossbeams that form the sides of the quadrilaterals and
[283] are tied with embira cord [Tr., bast fiber yielded by a tree] at a height of 1.60 meters when they do not rest on the forked tips of the outer vertical shafts (cf. Fig. 10 and Photos. 3 and 48). In addition, the inner vertical shafts are connected to one another with several poles (marked with circles in Fig. 10) at a height varying from 3.20 to 3.80 meters.

342

Once the framework is completed, the Indians drive rods into the ground in a straight line between the outer vertical shafts. The series of numbers in Fig. 9 (3, 8, 11, 10, 7, and 1) refers to these rods, which I represented with dots on the ground plan of house a. The rods are fastened with embira cord to the ridge formed by the highest longitudinal poles, and to the longitudinal poles connecting the outer vertical shafts. This results in an elongated dome where the roof and walls make up a homogeneous unit rather than two separate sections. Once the men have planted the rods securely in the ground, they tie onto them horizontal ones [Figs. 9 and 10 appear here] (marked with circles in Fig. 10), beginning at the bottom and working their way up so that they use the rods as a ladder until they reach the top.

When this has been done, sticks about one meter long are fastened vertically about one meter apart to the outside of the longitudinal poles connecting the outer shafts. These sticks are

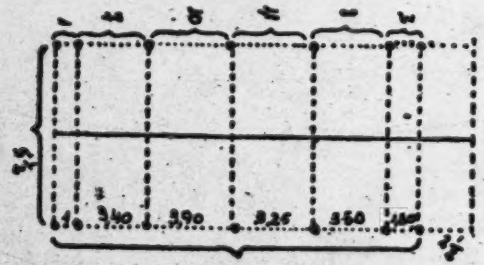

Fig. 9.

Fig. 10.

Fig. 9. Plan of house a.
Fig. 10. Cross-section of house a.

fastened in such a way that they stand half above and half below the longitudinal poles, their upper half conforming to the curvature of the dome and their lower half jutting out slightly. The sole purpose of these sticks is to hold, in the middle of their lower, jutting half, a cord of twisted embira fiber that stretches all around the house, tied with a knot to every stick. This cord supports from below the "wild banana" leaves laid out evenly and carefully [110:195] on the framework of beams and rods, and fits into notches cut into their stems for this purpose. The

342 Indians curve the leaves slightly to make them conform to the curvature of the dome. In any case, these leaves stop curling in the coolness of the afternoon, and at that hour, as a rule, there is no wind capable of blowing them off.

Then, the men climb upon the framework to cover up ampytapyk, that is to say, the upper part of the house. They are assisted in this work by the young women and the girls, who lift up the Heliconia leaves and hand them to the men. These leaves are laid down in such a way that they cover the framework of beams and rods, hanging from their folded stems (pakavaka, "to fold") which are doubled over the two highest longitudinal poles lying on each side of the ridge piece. The tips of the stems are secured between the second series of longitudinal poles and their covering leaves. In the case of large houses, such as house a, for example, a second layer of leaves hangs from the second series of longitudinal poles, with the tips of their stems inserted between the third longitudinal poles and their covering leaves. The stems are laid side by side until all the spaces between the vertical rods have been filled. The crest itself is covered with "wild banana" leaves laid lengthwise along the ridgepole, so that their longitudinal halves conform to those of the dome.

Green macaba leaves are placed over the "wild banana" leaves, with their stems jutting over the top and tied together. These palm leaves, which are quite heavy when green, prevent the foliage underneath from being blown off by the wind or curled up by the sun.

The lower part of the longitudinal sides of the house is covered with macaba leaves which are fastened to the framework from the outside being laid out side by side with their stems pointing upward and interwoven. "Wild banana" leaves are placed over them, fastened to the longitudinal poles in the same fashion as those hanging from the higher longitudinal poles. This thatching system is usually applied to the two smaller sides of the house, since leaves held on a cord by their notched stems would fall off for lack of support from these vertical, uncurved walls. The "cord technique" is not used in thatching the takana, either, for the lower part of this large structure remains open (see Photos. 68 and 69), while the upper part is covered in the same manner as the corresponding section of other houses, with as many layers as needed.

342 In simpler structures, such as house g (Photos. 64 and 67 to the right) and the summer dwellings (Photo. 7), there is no framework of rods, and because of this the leaves covering [110:196] the lower part of the shelter lean obliquely against the outer longitudinal poles with their stems resting directly upon the ground. The smaller sides are open in house g and only slightly covered [221] in the summer dwelling shown in Photograph 7. Structures of the latter type are erected in the fields and in neighboring wooded [226] areas when the dry season and its fishing opportunities lure the Indians into leaving their village and moving closer to the river in August, September, and October. The fact that the roofing of these temporary dwellings is not as good as that of permanent houses is understandable, since they are used as a protection against dew and sunlight rather than against rain properly speaking. The remnants of summer dwellings that I found along the trail leading from the river to the village consisted merely of a framework of poles lacking the finer latticework of sticks, and their covering was completely gone.

It is worth noting the existence of a sort of porch which took up entirely one of the smaller sides of house a and which was two and a half meters wide (Fig. 9). It was thatched only on its upper part, down to the longitudinal poles, and it was used by the men and women who wanted to be in the open air while lying in their hammocks or performing household tasks, but who wished to be sheltered from the sun (Photo. 48).

The house entrances are about the width of an adult person (Photos. 59 and 67), and they are bounded on top by the longitudinal pole, 1.60 meters from the ground. To my knowledge, they are never closed up.

[355] Reverend Kegel told me that during the rainy season the Tapirapé raise an earth bank around each house to prevent the waters from seeping in.

417 Beside the houses there stand wooden frameworks, triangular
251 or quadrangular according to the number of their legs, where manioc, peppers, and other fruits are laid out to dry and bananas are left to warm up in the sun.

345 The takana deserves special mention, not only because of its function as the men's house but also because of its appearance

345 which sets it apart from all other village structures in terms of thatching, size, and basic shape. As I mentioned above, the lower part of the takana remains open. The part covered with leaves is indicated by the parentheses [brackets] in Figure 12. The leaves rest on a framework of rods. The lower part of the takana, that is to say, the lower 1.60 meters, lacks horizontal rods, so the structure may be entered at any point (cf. Photos. 68 and 69). The front part of the house, however, has a particular (place indicated on Fig. 8 and 11) representing the entrance proper. At this place, a few vertical poles are also lacking, and this enables the pairs of dancers to come out [110:197] together and abreast without breaking up their mutual hold. The shafts that support the lowest longitudinal pole are not vertical but oblique; they are planted inside the house and form an acute angle with the vertical rods (Photo. 68). Oblique shafts also support the horizontal poles that jut out considerably from the thatch cover (Photos. 4, 68, and 69) and cross the takana at a height of 3.25 meters, dividing it into three sections, [Fig. 11 appears here] eight, 15, and 7.60 meters in length, respectively (Fig. 11). This building outstrips all the others in total length (30.60 meters), height (5.30 meters), and width (7.25 meters) (Fig. 12), and differs from them further in that its smaller sides are not rectilinear, but shaped like semicircles (Figs. 8, 9, and 11).

While only a few sleeping hammocks and some rare objects [352] [342] of male usage reveal that the takana serves not only for [Fig. 12 appears here] ceremonial purposes, but also as a dwelling, the entire scene inside the other houses is clearly indicative of their do- 352 mestic role. Take, for instance, house a. Within it, against 415 the wall, there are Kamaihahó's little bench, a sitting mat, bows and arrows, sifters, and tall carrying baskets full of urucú fruit and gourds. Stuck into the walls, there are small baskets, gourds, small bags, strips [of inner bark] to make penis sheaths, and large cane internodes in which the red macaw tail feathers are stored. On the floor, in the center of the house, there are jars full of food and cotton for spinning, gourds, small mortars made of sections of palm trunks, and fires, some of which are surrounded with stones to support the pots. [110:198] Hanging from the lower crossbeams, there are sleeping hammocks, small baskets and gourds full of manioc flour, a rag or two, a few ears of maize, and

352 bananas ripe for eating. The storeroom proper begins there and
415 extends to the upper crossbeams, from which hang large quanti-
[251] ties of bananas. Similar strips [of bark] tied to the roof just within the reach of a standing adult support small baskets, gourds, and small bags whose contents (usually manioc flour), like all foodstuffs, must be protected from the voracity of cockroaches and
[342] dogs. The floor of the house is of light grey, beaten earth. Low,
[764] oblong mounds mark the graves. The smoke that always fills the
354 house gives the inner side of the entire thatch cover a shiny black

[345]

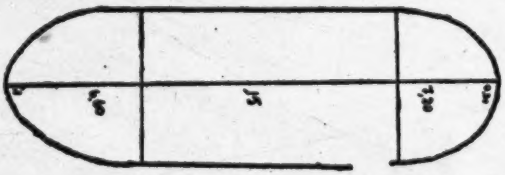

Fig. 11. Plan of the takana.

hue. The half-light maintained through the night by the fires burning beside the hammocks becomes a little brighter when daylight filters in through the slits in the lower part of the walls and through the doors.

512 Here is a nocturnal scene in house a.
[231] The chickens roosting upon the roof keep moving unceasingly,
[136] and from all sides comes the rustling of myriads of scuttling roaches.

[345]

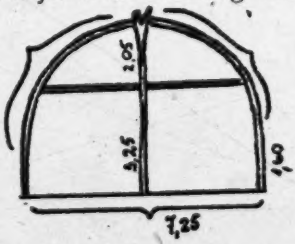

Fig. 12. Cross-section of the takana.

The swinging of hammocks makes the crossbeams creak. The
[516] smoke from the fires is not sufficient to protect the naked bodies from mosquitoes, and because of this, the Tapirapé swings his hammock, pushing his hand or foot against a rope stretched at his side or hanging one leg outside the hammock and pushing with it against the floor. He swings in this fashion until he goes to sleep.

114 591 in this house with No. 48, that is, the husband's mother (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead); (6) couple 35 and 40, in the same house, did not live with No. 56, that is, the husband's mother, who lived in house d (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead); (7) couple 51 and 58, in house d, lived in this house with No. 56, that is, the husband's mother (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead); (8) couple 85 and 92, in house f, did not live with No. 22, that is, the husband's mother, in house a (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead). As we can see, these data do not permit us to mention the existence of either a matrilocal or a patrilocal pattern among the Tapirapé in 1935, nor do they contribute any answer to the question as to whether these Indians were formerly patrilocal or matrilocal. [Ed., the last two paragraphs of p. 108, p. 109, and the first paragraph of p. 110 are omitted.]

171 361 [111:110] Thus, while the villages of various tribes at the headwaters of the Xingu resemble Tampiitaua in their inclusion of a ceremonial house and in the arrangement of the dwellings around it, they differ from it in the shape of the houses and in the comparative size of dwellings and ceremonial houses. In that 171 region of the Xingu basin, the houses do not have, like those of the 342 Tapirapé, a rectangular plan. They are elliptical or round, and similar in their beehive shape to the hemispherical houses of the Rio das Mortes Chavante rather than to the elongated dome (cf. Max Schmidt 3, 460-461; Meyer, 1, 62; and the figure in Von den Steinen 1, 124). There, in addition, the ceremonial house 171 is not larger than the family dwellings around it, as is the takana 345 at Tampiitaua, but as a rule is actually smaller (Max Schmidt 3, 462). [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 110, p. 111, and all but the last two paragraphs on p. 112 are omitted.]

[101] 171 513 [111:112] The use of a sleeping hammock also points out the kinship of the Tapirapé with the Tupinanbá and with the Tupi family as a whole (cf. Métraux 2, 60-62). Like the Tapirapé, the Tupinambá also slept naked and without blankets, maintaining a fire beside the net through the night (cf. Staden p. 4; Dialogos 114 das grandezas do Brazil [Dialogues on the Grandeurs of Brazil] 270; 171 Salvador 35). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] While according to 513 Father Vicente de Salvador (35), the Tupinambá husband usually

231 364 [136] [825] interested would remain where it is. Also, I have already mentioned the enthusiastic battling of the chickens against roaches, which they eat throughout the night. The reaction of the Tapirapé to this plague is to abandon the house and burn it. I never saw one of them go after the roaches and kill them one by one, which would be very easy owing to their numbers. Léry (159-160), incidentally, had already observed this scourge among the Tupinambá and apparently had not been familiar with it in Europe or on European ships, for he speaks of "bugs, called Arauers by the savages, which are no bigger than our crickets and which also come out at night in swarms around the fire, and if they find something they do not fail to nibble on it. Aside from what they get in this manner, they attack jerkins and shoes of morocco leather and eat the whole upper layer, so that people who own such articles find them all white and grazed in the morning when they get up. Also, when we left some chicken or other fowl cooked and poorly wrapped at night, these Arauers gnawed them to the bone, and there was nothing left on the following morning." [translated from French].

136 192

The word written arauers in the French spelling of the sixteenth century author tallies perfectly with the anavé, anaué, and araué with which the Tapirapé designate roaches.

171 [361] [342] [476] [764] [712] [345] To summarize the main comparative data in this chapter, we may say the following. The Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá in the arrangement of their houses around a central plaza, in the erection of multifamily dwellings by collective labor, in the elongated-dome shape of these houses, in the house burials, and in the use of the sleeping hammock. They differ from the ancient coastal Tupi in not fortifying their village with fences and in possessing a central structure, that is, the takana, that stands in the center of the plaza. Among these cultural traits, the most typically Tupi are the elongated-dome shape, the house burial, and the sleeping hammock. The Tapirapé resemble the Karajá in the shape of the little bench, but differ in the Tupi name they give to this article of furniture, in the arrangement of the houses within the village, in the ground plan and shape of the dwellings, in the burial method, and in the use of the hammock. The Tapirapé resemble the Kayapó in the layout [111:119] of houses around a men's house, a layout which is also characteristic of

[352]

171 361

other Gê tribes and of the Bororo, but they differ from their northern neighbors in the ground plan and framework of the houses, in the manner of burial, and in the use of the sleeping hammock. The Tapirapé resemble various tribes of the upper Xingu basin in the layout of the houses around a ceremonial house and in the use of the sleeping hammock, but differ from them in the shape of the houses and in the comparative size of the dwellings versus the ceremonial house, as well as in the custom of burying the dead inside the house. It is also worth noting the difference between the elongated-dome shape of the Tapirapé and northern Kayapó houses and the beehive shape of the Kayamo-Chavante dwellings on the Rio das Mortes. [Ed., end of Vol. 111.]

Chapter 8

[112:51] Subsistence

The Tapirapé derive their subsistence largely from farming and fishing. This does not keep them from using any opportunity they may have to gather wild fruits and honey and to hunt. The fruits of certain trees are plucked as they chance to be found along the way, but those of the tucum-açú (Astrocharyum spec.), called chavana in Tapirapé, are sought out systematically during the month of October. In September or thereabouts, the men equip themselves with axes and gourds and go into the forest to look for honey. During the same month they catch turtles and turtle eggs. At different times of the year they gather the larvae of various kinds of wasps (kaua, "wasp" in Tapirapé) and kill animals both small and large. Although some of them hunt at all times of the year, February and March are the special hunting months, for this is the time when game, especially wild pigs, armadilloes, and pacas, is crowded in by the rising waters.

During my stay in Tampiitaua, there was only one man who preferred hunting to any other occupation. He was Kanchovani, a Tapirapé about 32 years of age who was more slender in body than many other members of his tribe. While the others worked in their

1:Baldus--172 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Photo. 7

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Woman painting her husband. The structure in the background is a summer dwelling. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

Photo. 8

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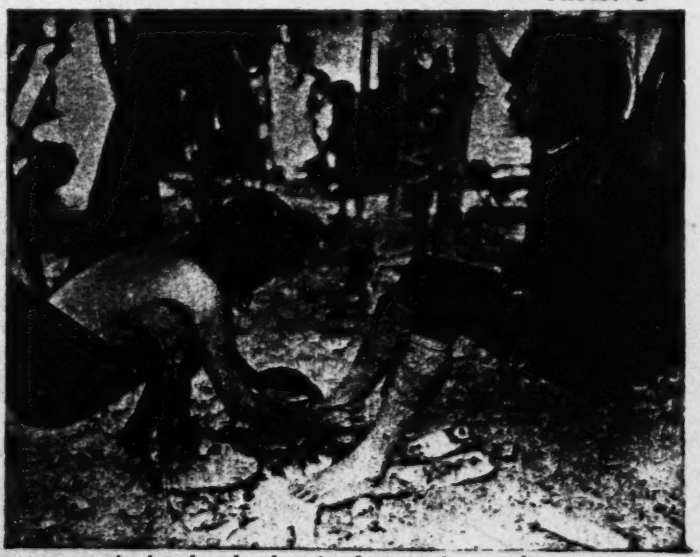
302
352



Woman anointing her husband's foot with urucú. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

1:Baldus--180 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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411
[342]

Photo. 27

The proportion between the height of the men and the length of their weapons.

Photo. 28

Man with club.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

148
291
342
756
276
786
796

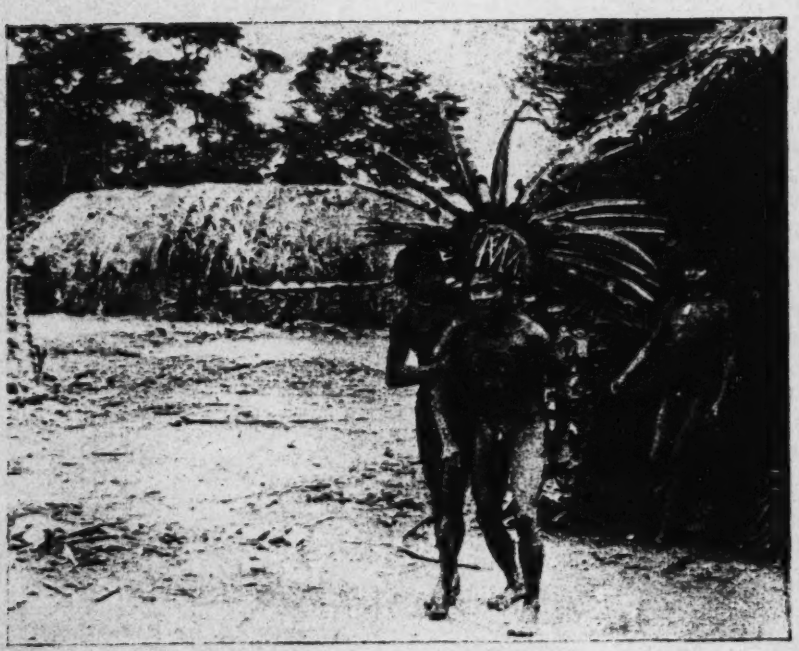

Fig. 3

Jovem noviço no xamanismo, usando o perigoso ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Está doente por engulir fumaça de tabaco e próximo a um estado de transe. Caiu antes de alcançar a segunda casa do circuito.

Young novice shaman wearing the dangerous ceremonial headdress. He is ill from swallowing tobacco smoke and near to a trance state. He fell before reaching second house in the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

342
756
786
796

Fig. 6

De repente, ficou rígido e caiu para a frente, sendo agarrado pelos dois rapazes que o guiavam.

Suddenly he stiffened and fell forward caught by the young men who had been leading him.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

142
342
756
786
796

Fig. 8

Êle era "forte", não necessitando de ajuda, porém, quando foi abatido pelos seres do Trovão, os jovens estavam próximos para ampará-lo na queda.

He was "strong" and did not need aid but when he was struck by the beings of Thunder, the young men were nearby to catch him when he fell.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

342
417
482
756
796
786

Fig. 10

O corpo da maioria dos pagés ficava rigido, quando, em estado de inconciência, eram carregados pelo circuito da aldeia, de volta à casa em que se iniciara a cerimônia. Nesta fotografia, três rapazes carregam fàcilmente o corpo rigido de Panteri, um dos poderosos pagés, após, ter sido abatido pelos seres do Trovão.

The bodies of most shamans were rigid in their unconscious state as they were being carried through the village circle back to the first house. In this picture, three young men easily carry the rigid body of Panteri, one of the powerful shamans, after he had been stricken by the beings of Thunder.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

276
342
516
756
796

Fig. 12

Os dois pagés engolem fumaça de tabaco, preparando-se para a fase final da cerimônia do Trovão, em que livram o povo do perigo. A população da aldeia ainda não se reünio. Cada homem tem o cachimbo na mão, e o jovem, à direita, está engulindo fumaça do cachimbo.

The two shamans swallowing tobacco smoke in preparation for the final phase of the Thunder ceremony when they rid the people of danger. The village populace has not yet gathered. Each man holds his pipe in his hand and the young man on the right is gulping smoke from his pipe.

411
535
142

Plate 27.

Tapirapé Dance of Men and Women.

292
342
535

Plate 28.

Tapirapé Masked Dance.

/406 cont./

On the campo path from the first roasting place, which was later joined by the second coming from the left, we reached a large village on the second day of the land march, two smaller villages on the third day, all three abandoned and in utter ruins. Water was not to be found on the campo on which the villages were located; the swamps and brooks to which paths led were dried out and, when excavated, in part to a depth of one meter, did not even yield moist earth, to say nothing of water.

On the basis of the discoveries and observations that I made at these places, I formed the following opinion. The tribe lives on the high campo that extends from the southern bend of the Tapirapé to the north as far as the high mountains (or plateau borders) that enclose it in the north and west. In front of these borders there extends a tremendous trough, apparently the source region of the Tapirapé, which from there flows around out of the high campo in the west and south, then turns off to the northeast. /407/ Here, approximately 130 kilometers due west from the Tapirapé mouth, the tribe lives in one large and two smaller villages during the rainy season. The large village seemed to have had three to four houses; the second, smaller one, two to three; the third perhaps the same number. The houses were in such a state of ruin that their construction was no longer recognizable; apparently they were large rectangular buildings with a pointed gable roof. The villages lie close to the large forest area that accompanies the trough in front of the mountains. All around in smaller troughs extend large swamps to which brooks lead. During the dry season these water areas dry up completely, so that even holes up to a meter deep in the brook bed do not yield moist earth. As a result, the Indians are compelled to migrate to water areas, and apparently they then first seek the upper Tapirapé. In former times they seem to have come farther downstream to a certain place where they met the Karajá, who extended their fishing expeditions this far, and traded with them. This trading place lies about 30 kilometers southeast of the first village (34 kilometers from the second and third). As a result of the conflicts with the Karajá, they now avoid this

/407 cont./

221 region and come to the river farther upstream, before it turns
226 toward the northeast. Here, by means of poisonous cipo, they
[252] fish successive lakes blocked off by fences. They seem to travel from upstream downward, for the upper roasting place showed only a few new beams among very old ones, whereas the lower one was apparently quite recently built. This lower one, beside which they fished from the middle to the end of August 1908, lies about 16 kilometers south-southwest of the first village (24 kilometers
[489] from the second and third). The well-worn paths that go from the two roasting places, join, and lead by way of the first village to the other two, seem to indicate that the Indians visit this spot annually. Where they go from here I was unable to find out; perhaps they went across the Tapirapé to the south. In any case a campo lake abounding in fish, several kilometers away from the trading place, showed no traces of human beings.

161 These people seem to be very numerous. The number of
[492] houses is small, to be sure, but their dimensions seemed to be
[252] quite considerable. The 26 huge grills at the first roasting place and 10-15 at the second, the sandbanks completely trodden down with footprints beside the first fish lake, certainly lead one to
513 conclude that there is a large crowd of people. Sleeping is
352 apparently done in hammocks. This is indicated first by the net coverings that the Karajá buy from them, and then by the complete absence of sleeping places beside the roasting place, which was certainly used for many days.

241 Besides manioc (according to the account of the Karajá), these people also plant maize, as is indicated by many, partly
231 charred corncobs at the roasting place. As domestic animals they keep dogs, the traces of which were numerous on the sand-
224 banks. It may surely be assumed that they devote themselves to
[136] hunting. The campo is extremely rich in deer, the forests in wild pigs. Certainly they will not forgo these sources of meat.

226 In addition, fishing is practiced on a large scale through poisoning the /408/ /III. 267 appears here/ /409/ water of blocked-off lakes. We saw barrier poles everywhere in the territory of this tribe in front of lake outlets. The first lake that we came across was completely blocked off by a fence that was

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 344]

648 Tapirapé houses, covered with palm and
[342] "wild banana" leaves, a sturdy protection against heat, cold, and rain, are worth nothing in the eyes of those who own earthen walls. The language which they do not understand seems as ugly to them as all the strange customs seem ridiculous or horrifying, be they facial painting, masked dances, or the practices of the sorcerers--medicine men. This does not prevent them from being no less "primitive" than the Indians in certain aspects of their material culture. In Pôrto Velho, for example, a family from Conceição used a tree trunk with hollowed-out steps as a ladder, thus resembling in this respect the Oiampi [Oyampi] Indians of Guiana who reach their raised houses by similar contraptions.

726 Retreating before the White intruders with the transfer of Tampiitáua, the Tapirapé fell once more into the hands of that neighbor who has probably been for centuries the Number One enemy of their tribe. In 1935 they had already shown their fear openly at night, asking me not to let go of my revolver when I lay down in my net so as to be ready to defend them from the Kaiapó, who [142] had attacked and destroyed another village of theirs three years earlier and killed most of its inhabitants. When I reached Pôrto Velho last July, the same preoccupation had seized the frontiersmen. They spoke of the nearness of the Kaiapó in the same terms as it had been mentioned 12 years earlier in Tampiitáua. These rumors were confirmed by the presence of three families who had come from the plains near Conceição do Araguaia. They said that they had left it only out of fear of those Indians, who had killed seven persons in the previous year.

Unfortunately, the expected danger was not imaginary. A few weeks after our last visit, the Kaiapó attacked Tampiitáua. Details [115] of this tragic occurrence are related in a letter I received from Father [648] M. H. Lelong (1). In it we read that the village was sacked and burned [727]

1. Conceição do Araguaia, 11 October 1947
Dear Professor:

I am the Frenchman you met on the Araguaia as you went up from the Tapirapé toward Leopoldina.

I know how interested you were in this small group of attractive Indians, and thus, after arriving at Conceição the day before yesterday, I hasten to send you the news, which is very sad.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Tapirapé do not use the tipiti (the long woven tube in which the water is squeezed from poisonous manioc), but squeeze poisonous manioc with their hands. The pulp is then spread out on a platform in the sun to be thoroughly dried. The flour is toasted in a clay pot over a very hot fire. 252

Wild foods.—Meat is a definite luxury to the agricultural *Tapirapé*. Monkeys, armadillos, forest fowls, cuati (*Nasua* sp.), and both kinds of peccary (*Tayassus tajacu* and *T. pecari*) are occasionally killed in the forest at any time during the year. The hunting and fishing season, however, is from June through October, when the savanna country is dry. The savannas are extraordinarily rich with game. Plains deer, wild pigs, peccary, and wild duck, and geese near the drying swamps are plentiful. 224 [221]

Fish are shot with the bow and arrow and stupefied with timbó (*Paullinea pinnata* or *Serjania* sp.) in the almost dry streams and lakes. The village is almost deserted in September and October, after garden sites have been cleared and before planting. Men, women, and children move out to the plains country near the Tapirapé River and set up a temporary camp. They collect turtle eggs and kill turtles in the river. They gather piqui fruit (*Caryocar vellosum*), andiroba (*Carapa guyanensis*), and other wild fruits, and, from October through November, they find wild honey both on the savanna and in the forest. 226 221 222

Hunting is done with the bow and arrow, but a club is used to finish the kill, especially wild pigs or jaguars. [224]

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

The houses of a *Tapirapé* village form an oval around a large ceremonial men's house (tākana), which is forbidden to the women. Both the large men's house, approximately 20 by 65 feet (6 by 20 m.), and the residential houses, averaging 13 by 33 feet (4 by 10 m.), have a quadrangular floor plan with arched roofs made by bending flexible poles and tying them together over a roof beam (pl. 19, *bottom, left*). The walls and the roof are covered with leaves of buriti palm and wild banana. 361 342 345

In the surviving village, called Tampitawa, there were nine residential houses, each housing from four to eight simple families. Each family occupies a determined sector of the house where they cook, keep their belongings, and hang their sleeping hammocks. Household utensils, such as baskets, pots, hammocks, and gourds, are owned by the women of each simple family. Houses, though built by men, are said to be the property of the women of the house. The house frame is constructed cooperatively by all the men of the house. Each man covers the portion to be used by his wife and children. 592 422 [423] 342

Ideally, residence is matrilocal, and the house is inhabited by a group of closely related women and their husbands. The household leader is generally the husband of the oldest woman of the group (see p. 172). Owing perhaps to great depopulation and the accumulation of refugees [591] 592